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ABSTRACT

A summary report of a review of literature on the status of family day care in numerous countries around the world is provided. Materials were obtained from several databases, including ERIC (Educational Resource Information Center), Social SciSearch, Child Abuse and Neglect, Sociological Abstracts, Family Resources, and Third World Countries. Countries which provided legislation or programs for family day care were chosen. Data gathered on each country were checked for current validity with key persons in Canada and with participants at the 1987 International Family Child Care conference in Cardiff, Wales. Chapter 1 provides a policy framework for looking at family day care in various countries. Chapter 2 uses the policy framework to give an overview of all countries reviewed. Chapter 3 offers a short synopsis of research findings on family day care. Chapter 4 briefly reviews the issues concerning regulation in family day care. Definitions of terms used throughout the summary report are provided in an appendix. (RH)

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Summary Report of Family Day Care Internationally: A Literature Review

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Minister

July 1988

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SUMMARY REPORT OF

FAMILY DAY CARE INTERNATIONALLY:

A LITERATURE REVIEW

Prepared
for
CHILD CARE BRANCH
by
June Deller

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SUMMARY REPORT OF

FAMILY DAY CARE INTERNATIONALLY:

A LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

A literature review on family day care internationally was undertaken by the Ministry of Community and Social Services Child Care Branch. The purpose of this review was to provide information on the status of family day care around the world. The review was commissioned as part of a comprehensive study of the private-home day care (PHDC) program in Ontario.

The review included the following databases: ERIC, Social SciSearch, Child Abuse and Neglect, Sociological Abstracts, Family Resources, and Third World Countries. Countries were chosen from the literature which were found to provide legislation and/or programs for family day care. The data which was gathered on each country was checked for current validity, where possible, with key persons in Canada and with participants at the International Family Child Care Conference in Cardiff, Wales, 1987.

The findings of the literature review are available in a complete report which contains the following four parts.

Part 1 consists of three chapters which serve as introduction to the report. Chapter 1 includes an outline of the organization used, an explanation of the terminology and a description of the methodology. Chapter 2 presents the reader with a policy framework for viewing the practice of family day care in different countries. Chapter 3 gives a description of the International Family Child Care Conference in Wales, October, 1987.

Part 2 of the report describes how family day care is operating in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, Australasia and North America. The information gathered is organized under the following headings:

- Status of Providers
  - employment status, regulatory status, provider associations, labour union involvement
- Government, Community and Parental Involvement in relation to
  - policy and decision making power
  - organizational structures
  - programs

- Funding
- Effectiveness of Service Model
  - evaluation within the country of its method of providing family day care.

Part 3 examines the research which has been carried out regarding the value of family day care. The discussion of the research is organized into the two following sections:

- research related to the effects on children's development in family day care, including reference to its value for infants and toddlers, and children with special needs
- research related to family day care as a service to parents, including reference to its potential flexibility, support to parents, and cultural sensitivity.

Lastly, the literature was reviewed regarding the purpose and effectiveness of regulation and various regulatory procedures in family day care. This discussion is included in Part 4.

This summary report attempts to present the salient parts of the review for rapid overview. The reader is encouraged to refer to the review for more detailed coverage and for reference to specific countries. The summary includes the following chapters:

o Chapter 1 provides a policy framework for looking at family day care in various countries

o Chapter 2 gives an overview of all countries reviewed using the policy framework

o Chapter 3 gives a short synopsis of research findings on family day care

o Chapter 4 briefly reviews the issues of regulation in family day care.

Definitions of terms used throughout the summary report are provided in Appendix 1.

CHAPTER 1

A POLICY FRAMEWORK

A country's practices in the provision of child day care, including family day care, are imbedded in its political beliefs regarding the relation between government and the individual, its economic beliefs regarding financing of services, and its social beliefs regarding individual, family and community values.

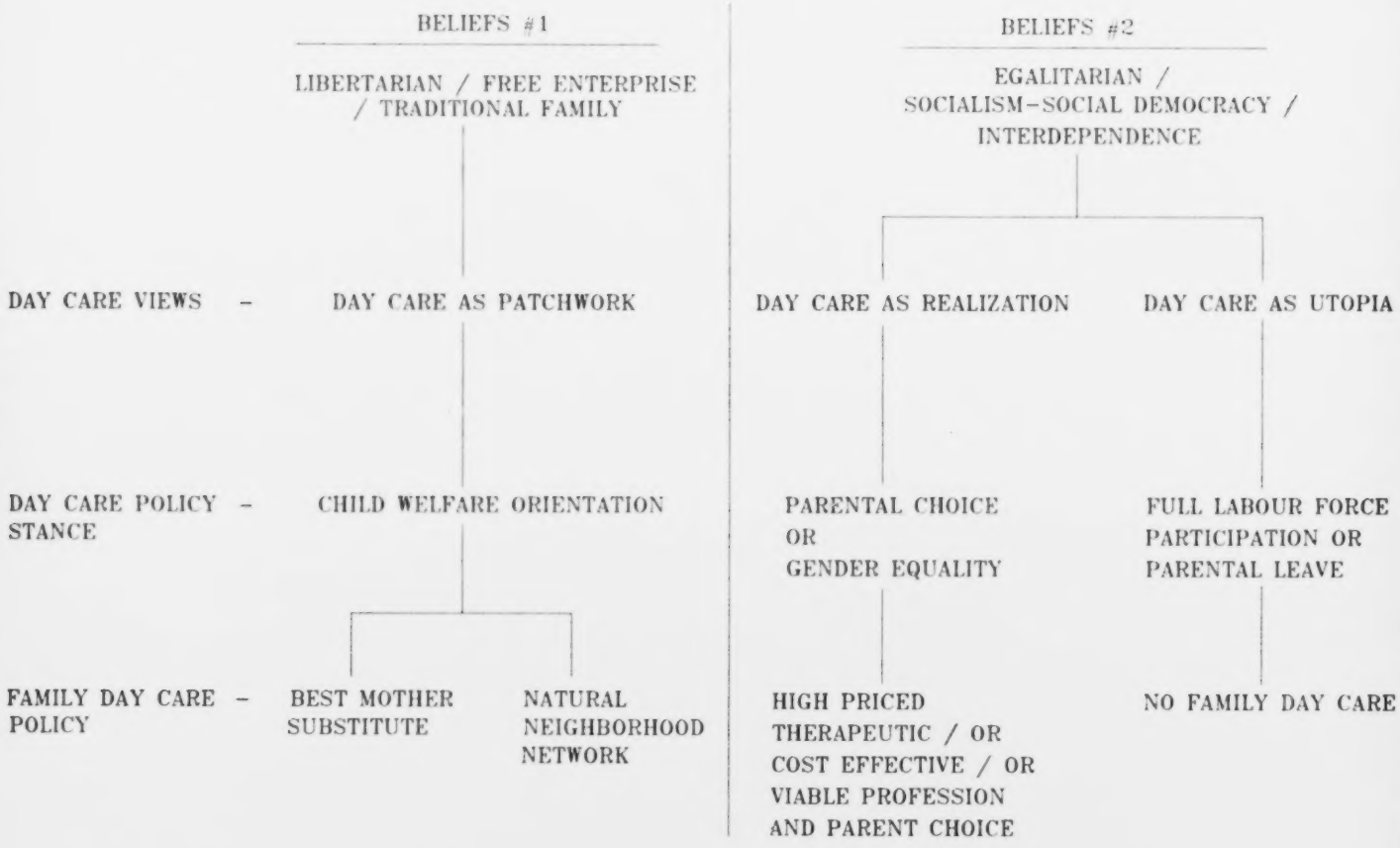
The literature provides us with several useful frameworks for organizing our thinking about these beliefs and the relationship between them and day care policies and practices. From these we have chosen a conceptual framework which appears to provide us with the most clarity for looking at family day care. The framework includes a description of two opposing sets of political, economic and social beliefs, leading to three different views on the purpose of day care. Within these views, five examples of day care policy positions will be examined. It will also be seen how the different perspectives on the purpose of day care lead to different policy positions on family day care. Figure #1 on the following page shows the relationship between the beliefs and the policy positions.

A. Political, Economic and Social Beliefs

The beliefs held by individuals and countries tend to cluster around two ends of a spectrum. At the one end is a set of beliefs which could be characterized as **libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family**. This set of beliefs places a positive value on the following positions:

- the self-determined and independent role of the individual
- the limited role and function of government
  - including a distrust of government (especially central government which is seen as removed from the control of the local people, particularly in matters related to children, education and the family)
- pluralism, the support of the development of services with a variety of public and private sponsors
- the free market place for goods and services
- costs of services to be borne by the individual and controlled by the individual

FIGURE 1.1: POLICY FRAMEWORK


BELIEFS #1
LIBERTARIAN / FREE ENTERPRISE / TRADITIONAL FAMILY
BELIEFS #2
EGALITARIAN / SOCIALISM–SOCIAL DEMOCRACY / INTERDEPENDENCE
DAY CARE VIEWS –
DAY CARE AS PATCHWORK
DAY CARE AS REALIZATION
DAY CARE AS UTOPIA
DAY CARE POLICY STANCE –
CHILD WELFARE ORIENTATION
PARENTAL CHOICE OR GENDER EQUALITY
FULL LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OR PARENTAL LEAVE
FAMILY DAY CARE POLICY –
BEST MOTHER SUBSTITUTE
NATURAL NEIGHBORHOOD NETWORK
HIGH PRICED THERAPEUTIC / OR COST EFFECTIVE / OR VIABLE PROFESSION AND PARENT CHOICE
NO FAMILY DAY CARE

- the importance of the voluntary charity tradition for providing for those in need

- limited public intervention in day care services for families, on the premise that responsibility for looking after young children lies with their parents (CEC, 1985, p. 14-15; Robinson et al, 1979, p. 106).

At the other end of the spectrum is a set of beliefs which could be called **egalitarian/social democracy-socialism/interdependence**. This set of beliefs places a positive value on the following positions:

- a public role and responsibility in assisting families with the rearing of children

- the assignment of a predominant role to government in the direct provision of goods and services to families, rather than relying on individual and voluntary charitable activity to meet various social needs

- costs of services to be borne by all as directed by government spending policy in the apportionment of tax revenues and other sources of funding

- a major role of government in ensuring equal opportunities for all children and equal treatment of workers of both sexes with family responsibilities (CEC, 1985, p. 14-15; Robinson et al, 1979, p. 106).

B. Views and Policy Stances Regarding Child Day Care

The goals which a particular society chooses in its implementation of day care plans, tend to focus on gender roles at home and in the workplace (who works outside of the home and who cares for children), social equality (how to provide equal opportunities for all children), and the family and/or government's responsibility for these.

The **libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family** cluster of beliefs leads to a view of the purpose of day care which Steinfels (1977) refers to as day care as patchwork. This outlook views day care services essentially as repairing breakdowns in present social institutions. It supports traditional family values, and sees day care as a "kind of first aid for fatherless families, for children needing assistance, for mothers prevented from providing full-time care for their children by economic or emotional difficulties."

- The policy stance which follows this belief is described by Kamerman (1980) as a child welfare orientation. "It is seen as up to the individual to work out their own solutions and child care is seen in a social welfare context."

On the other hand, the **egalitarian/social democracy - socialism/interdependence** cluster leads to two different views of the purpose of day care.

The first view, which Steinfels (1977) terms day care as realization, supports goals of gender equality in the labour force and the home, and social equality for all children, but feels that these are not being realized in the present social and family structures. Day care is seen as a means of enabling women to enter the labour force on an equal basis and for enabling men to share in childrearing. It is also seen as providing children with the skills necessary for advancing in a rapidly changing society. "Women and children would be freed from the patriarchal nuclear household. Society would accept new responsibilities for the care and development of children" (Steinfels, 1977, p. 14).

Two policy stances described by Kamerman (1980) follow from this view:

- Parental Choice. "The government supports parental choice in deciding whether one or both parents work and the government supplies quality child care and sufficient income support to parents staying at home" (Kamerman, 1980).

- Gender Equality. "The government enables both parents to manage work and family life simultaneously in order to enhance equality of the sexes. A generous paid parental leave plus benefits plus extensive child care services are provided" (Kamerman, 1980).

The second view, which Steinfels terms day care as utopia views day care as a means of changing society in a way which is "radically discontinuous with the present. The possibility of changing society by inferring new values into the young has always been part of the utopian inheritance. So, too, has been the potential of women as a reforming force not yet fully integrated into a society largely formed by men. Day care would, in some significant ways, attempt to block the present direction of society and start it off in a new one" (Steinfels, 1977, p. 14-15).

Two policy stances described by Kamerman (1980) follow from this view.

- Full Labour Force Participation. "There is a commitment on the part of the country to encourage participation of all adults in the labour force. Therefore the government subsidizes child care services so all children can be cared for at a reasonable costs to parents" (Kamerman, 1980)

- Parental Leave. "The government subsidizes parents to stay at home with their young children for as long as it is felt necessary for optimum child and family development" (Kamerman, 1980).

C. Policy Stances Related to Family Day Care

The same three day care views outlined above lead to differing policy positions on family day care.

1. Within the day care as patchwork framework, there are two positions.

   - Best Mother Substitute. Group care is seen as a damaging institutionalizing setting, especially for children under two (Kellmer-Pringle, 1980; Leach, 1979; Maynard, 1984; White, 1984). Mothers should stay at home to care for children, but if they cannot, the next best substitute is family day care, the closest approximation to the optimum care by mother at home.

   - Natural Neighbourhood Networks. Family day care is seen as a reflection of traditional values of family, friendship and kinship, and the voluntary/charity tradition. It can effectively utilize the strengths of neighborhood networks, and government intervention would be detrimental to those values.

2. Within the day care as realization framework, there are three stances on family day care.

   - High Priced Therapeutic Service. Kamerman (1980) suggests that "while family day care dominates currently, especially given the unlicensed, unregulated provision, many experts now assume group care will ultimately predominate as more and more women are working and the potential labour force for family day care disappears and the costs increase (as standards are raised). If and when this occurs, family day care may be available, but is likely to be viewed as a high-priced therapeutic program intended for children with special needs." (Kamerman, 1980, p. 27). Added to this view is the position that family day care as it now functions in most countries is especially exploitative of women.

   - Cost-effective day care. In times of economic constraint, it is too expensive to provide group care for all children who need it. Since the research indicates very little difference in developmental effects between family day care and centre care, public funds should go into supporting and improving the less expensive family day care provision.

   - Viable Professional and Parental Choice. Family day care should be a viable choice for parents and a viable profession for caregivers, which is included in a publicly funded childcare system.

3. Within the day care as utopia framework, family day care is usually viewed as exploitative of women, and as maintaining the status quo of traditional family roles and values. Therefore it is seen as inappropriate to be included in a publicly funded child care system. Only centre-based care is viewed as providing the radical change in socialization necessary for societal change.

A conversation overheard between a Swedish provider and a mid-west American provider at the International Family Child Care Conference in Wales gives a lucid example of the relationship between these beliefs, views and policy stances and the issues facing individual providers.

> A Swedish provider was describing their union contract under which providers are employed. She described both the employee benefits and the responsibilities, e.g. the fact that they had to take the children who were assigned to them, and had to work the number of hours specified in the contract, etc.
>
> The mid-west provider responded, "Oh, providers in our state wouldn't put up with being told what to do by the government like that."
>
> The Swedish provider replied "Sometimes the individual provider has to give up some freedom in order that all parents have good day care."
>
> The midwest American provider shook her head, regarding the Swedish provider sympathetically and replied, "Oh, no, we would not give up our freedom like that."

The above beliefs and policy stances will provide a framework for the overview of family day care in the countries summarized in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

DESCRIPTION OF FAMILY DAY CARE INTERNATIONALLY

The countries reviewed will be discussed in five sections related to the social, political and economic beliefs outlined in Chapter 1.

Section 1 will discuss family day care in those countries which tend toward an egalitarian/social democracy/interdependence set of beliefs.

Section 2 will discuss those countries which have more of a libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family set of beliefs and have a central government structure.

In Section 3 the other countries with a libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family set of beliefs, but with a federal government structure will be discussed.

Section 4 briefly states the position on family day care of countries with egalitarian/socialism/interdependence beliefs.

Section 5 comments on family day care in developing countries.

Each of the sections will include discussion of the status of providers; government, voluntary/community and parent involvement; funding; and the effectiveness of the service model.

1. Egalitarian/social democracy/interdependence

An egalitarian/social democracy/interdependence set of beliefs includes beliefs in a positive shared public responsibility for children, the predominant role of government in direct services to families, and a major role of government in ensuring equal opportunities for children and gender equality in family responsibilities and the labour force. The countries reviewed which generally share these beliefs are Sweden, Denmark, Finland, France and Belgium. In these countries, day care is seen within Steinfel's day care as realization position. This position supports goals of gender equality in the labour force and home, and social equality for all children. Some of the specific goals for day care stated in their literature are included in the following chart.

Figure 2.1 Policy for Day Care

Country	Policy of Day Care
Sweden	■ to give men and women equal opportunities to combine employment and family ■ to provide educational opportunities for children
Denmark	■ to support the government policy of social equality and equality of the sexes
Finland	■ to provide a service to the child, family and society ■ to provide all of society with economic, social and educational equality ■ to meet educational objectives for children
France and Belgium	■ to provide care and education for all children ■ to give parents the choice of the kind of care they need and prefer.

Family day care in these countries is viewed in a variety of ways. In Sweden, the government, having satisfied itself through research that family day care can provide as high quality care as centre-based care, sees family day care as a cost-effective method of expansion of spaces. Because of their commitment, by 1991, to meet the needs of all parents with children from 18 months onward who wish care, they are pressured to expand the provision rapidly. The providers in Sweden view family day care as a viable professional and parental choice.

In Denmark, there are guidelines regarding which children benefit from family day care and those which benefit from centre-based care. Family day care is seen as preferable for children who need a substitute for mother at home (e.g. infants and toddlers, children with special needs), while centre-based care is seen as preferable for those who need a supplement.

In Finland, France and Belgium family day care appears to be seen as a viable professional and parental choice.

A. Status of Providers

The status of providers varies in two dimensions: regulatory status and employee status. They may be part of an organization (either sponsored by a local authority or a private non-profit organization) which recruits, trains, supports, supervises and pays the providers. On the other hand, they may operate independently. The following chart shows the variations in status in each country.

Figure 2.2 Status of Providers

Country	Employee Status	Regulatory Status	Organized or Independent
Sweden	All municipal employees	All licensed	All organized
Finland	All organized providers are municipal employees	All licensed	Some organized Some independent
Denmark	All organized providers are either municipal or non-profit organization employees	All licensed	Some organized Some independent
France	All organized providers are either municipal or non-profit organization employees	All licensed	Some organized Some independent
Belgium	No employee status	All licensed	Some organized with day care centres or social agencies Some independent

In Sweden all licensed family day care providers are organized as employees of municipalities. Through a collective agreement between the Swedish Municipal Workers Union and the municipalities, they receive the same benefits as all other municipal employees in relation to salary grade, sickness benefits, insurance, holidays and employment security. They generally have the same status as second level teachers in day care centres and are interchangeable as employees.

In Finland the organized family day care providers are also municipal employees and have similar status to those in Sweden.

In Denmark and France the employers in the organized family day care may be either a municipal government or a private non-profit organization.

The organized family day care providers in Belgium have a different status than in the other countries; they are self-employed, have contracts with the organization, and receive a tax-free allowance. In France and Belgium some of the organizations are attached to day care centres, and some to social service agencies.

In all of these countries except Sweden, there are also licensed independent self-employed providers. There appears to be a general trend towards encouraging more of these independent providers to become part of the organized schemes, both in order to enhance their status as professionals and as a means of ensuring quality of care. In Belgium 60% of providers are independent as compared to 10% in Denmark.

It is acknowledged that there are illegal "black market" providers. The estimated numbers range from 50% of family day care in France to a smaller percentage in Sweden. However, the assumption in these countries is that illegal provision is an indication to the government of the need to increase publicly funded day care provision. The solution is not to spend time and energy monitoring and sanctioning "illegal" provision, but to increase the amount of publicly funded organized family day care so that parents will use that instead of "illegal" care, and to increase the incentives to providers to become part of the organized schemes.

The organizations of family day care providers are developed through unions in relation to employment conditions, and at local levels for training and support. In Sweden there is a national organization of family day care providers which is also committed to developing international connections.

B. Government Involvement

The government structure in these countries is a central government organization with local authorities, frequently referred to as municipalities. They all have central government legislation which regulates family day care.

In Sweden the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs under the Social Services Act passes laws and proposals, gives general supervision and sets objectives and directions. The municipalities are responsible for building, expanding, developing and running day care programs; meeting the needs of parents; hiring, supervising, coordinating and training family day care providers.

In Denmark, the central government has had central government legislation, but has recently decentralized its function in relation to day care and provides only guidelines to the municipalities. The municipal governments are responsible for providing adequate numbers of spaces, and for hiring, supervising and training family day care providers.

In Finland, under the Day Care Act, it is the duty of municipalities to meet day care needs and to provide educational goals. The Act brings all child care arrangements outside of the child's home under the control of municipal administration, so that the government can meet the needs of all families. The municipalities develop five-year plans for meeting the child care needs of their communities, and they are responsible for employment, supervising and training of providers.

France and Belgium have central government legislation which establishes standards for child/adult ratios, training of providers, employment status, parental responsibility for reporting non-compliance. The municipalities are responsible for administration of family day care under these regulations.

C. Community Organizations

There is an emphasis on the responsibility of government to meet the child care needs of the community. As a result, the majority of family day care providers are regulated, supervised and given training and support by the municipal governments. Denmark, France and Belgium do have some non-profit organizations (numbers not reported in the literature) which provide organized family day care.

D. Parent Involvement

The major focus in these countries related to parents comes out of a sense of the government sharing responsibility with parents for childrearing by providing high quality care. The recent trend in the European countries towards more parental decision-making in the provision of day care services is reflected in the following ways:

- Finland's stress on the role of day care to support parental decision-making power

- the description in the Swedish literature of the importance of shared parent/state responsibility
- parent councils in Denmark
- parent advisory councils in France.

E. Funding

The cost of all day care is shared by the central government, the municipal government and parents. Table 1 on the next page shows the proportionate amounts shared by each sector for each country.

The parent fees in all these countries are the same for family day care and centre-based care, if they are publicly funded. If the providers are independent, the parents pay the full fee.

The relative cost of family day care and centre-based care, where it is reported, is as follows:

- In Sweden and Denmark the cost of family day care is half that of centre-based care.
- In France - family day care costs between 66.6% and 80% of centre-based care.

F. Effectiveness of Service Model

In Sweden, Denmark, Finland, France and Belgium the goal is to meet the child care needs of all parents. All of these countries have high maternal employment rates of over 60% for children under school age. They also have extensive parental leave benefits.

There are concerns expressed regarding both availability and quality of care provided. In relation to availability, there is concern in each country about the extent of the unmet need, as well as a view that family day care is a less expensive way of expanding day care spaces rapidly, without losing quality.

TABLE 2.1: COST SHARING

COUNTRY	CENTRAL GOVT.	MUNICIPAL GOVT.	PARENTS
SWEDEN	35 - 40%	40 - 50%	15% *
DENMARK	50% (BLOCK GRANTS)	30 - 50%	LESS THAN 20% (SLIDING SCALE)
FINLAND	20 - 40%	25 - 55%	REMAINDER
FRANCE **	40% (CAPITAL)	20% (CAPITAL) 50% (OPERATING)	REMAINDER
BELGIUM	60%	20%	20%

* MANY MUNICIPALITIES IN SWEDEN ARE MOVING TO A LOW STANDARD FEE FOR PARENTS.

** THE CAISSES D'ALLOCATIONS FAMILIALES, AN EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTION FUND WHICH OPERATES BOTH NATIONALLY AND REGIONALLY, PROVIDES 40% OF THE CAPITAL COSTS AND 20% OF THE OPERATING COSTS.

In Sweden, approximately half of the need for child care is met by day care centres, another 25% in family day care, leaving approximately 25% of the need unmet. Denmark's family day care provision has increased by 56% in the last ten years. However, they still have concerns about the unmet need. For example, their waiting lists increased by 34% from 1985 to 1986. Finland estimates that approximately 50% of the need for day care is being met, with 77% of mothers of preschool children working. While France and Belgium provide school-based programs for children from age 2 1/2 onward (which provides for close to 100% of children) they estimate that between 5 to 10% of children under three are in publicly funded day care provisions, approximately one-third in family day care in France, and slightly less than half in Belgium.

There are concerns about the quality of care with independent providers, and an effort is being made to bring these providers into organized family day care. There are also concerns about regional disparities in quantity and quality of care, especially affecting rural areas. The move to decentralization and block grants is seen by some advocates in these countries as potentially harmful to the quality of care in areas where day care is not seen as a high priority.

2. Libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family

A libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family set of beliefs includes beliefs in the independent role of the individual, limited role of government, pluralism of services, free marketplace, importance of the voluntary/charity tradition, and sole family responsibility for care of young children. The countries reviewed with a central government structure which generally share these beliefs in varying degrees are: Portugal, West Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom, South Africa. The countries with a federal model of government - Australia, New Zealand, United States and Canada - will be dealt with separately from those with a central government model.

2.1 Countries with a Central Government

All of these countries (Portugal, West Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom, South Africa) support Steinfels' day care as patchwork position. This position views day care as repairing breakdowns in the traditional family and as operating best within a welfare orientation. The following chart highlights policies related to day care in each country.

Figure 2.3 Policy for Day Care

Country	Day Care Policy
Portugal	■ privatization of services ■ decentralization ■ encouragement of informal, unregulated services
West Germany	■ importance of women staying at home to care for young children ■ family responsibility for day care ■ government involvement with funding and regulations only in case of welfare need ■ importance of charitable organizations (especially the church) to provide for welfare needs
Netherlands	■ no government involvement in child care other than funding in cases of "social backwardness, neglect and economic necessity" ■ "nuclear family is the cornerstone of society"
Switzerland	■ child care is private matter of families and is the duty of mothers
United Kingdom	■ government intervention in day care only for poor, disadvantaged and low-income families ■ encouragement of voluntary/charitable organizations.

* *No clear policy statement on day care in South Africa was found in the literature.*

In West Germany and the United Kingdom, family day care is supported as a better substitute for mother care than centre-based care. Netherlands and Switzerland place more stress on family day care being a natural neighborhood network of mothers helping out other mothers caring for children in a process which does not involve government intervention. In all of these countries both of these positions are apparent, with the "best mother substitute" position being used more in relation to funded family day care in cases of welfare need, and the "natural neighborhood network" position being used in relation to unregulated care for middle class families who are coping economically.

A. Status of Providers

The status of providers in these countries vary in relation to regulatory status and whether they function independently or in an organized family day care scheme. There are no providers with employee status.

Figure 2.4 Status of Providers

Country	Status of Providers
Portugal	■ licensed family day care providers in schemes (social agencies and day care centres) ■ unregulated independent providers
West Germany	■ licensed family day care providers in projects ■ licensed independent providers ■ illegal independent providers (app. 2/3)
Netherlands	■ no licensed providers ■ family day care providers in Gastouderprojekts ■ independent unregulated
Switzerland	■ licensed family day care providers in Day Mother Organizations ■ unregulated family day care providers in Day Mother Organizations ■ licensed and unregulated independent providers
United Kingdom	■ licensed providers in sponsored schemes ■ licensed independent family day care providers ■ illegal independent providers (less than 1/2)
South Africa	■ no licensed providers ■ family day care providers in organized family day care schemes

In West Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland and United Kingdom, there are strong national organizations of family day care providers. The organizations provide advocacy, training, support services. They provide many of the services which are provided by government agencies in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, France and Belgium.

B. Government Involvement

These countries have a central government structure with regional, local authority or municipal governments at the local level. The following chart indicates the government involvement at each level related to family day care.

Figure 2.5 Government Involvement

Portugal	■ central government - legislation related to schemes - funding related to schemes and welfare orientation ■ local authority - 13 Regional Social Security Centres responsible for administration of centres and family day care schemes
West Germany	■ central government - regulations, welfare funding, experimental projects ■ state governments - responsible for carrying out regulations ■ municipal governments - operate some of the projects
Netherlands	■ central government - no regulations, no legal framework for municipal involvement - funding of experimental Gastouderprojekts (schemes) and for welfare subsidies
Switzerland	■ central government - no regulations, some funding of welfare subsidies ■ local authorities - some have regulations and supervise independent providers
United Kingdom	■ central government - regulations - funding in cases of need in response to requests from local authorities ■ local authorities - responsible for licensing, monitoring and supporting - some local authorities have organized sponsored schemes
South Africa	■ central government - no regulations or funding

C. Community Involvement

All of these countries **with a libertarian/free enterprise/traditional family** set of beliefs have a strong commitment to voluntary/charity traditions and the strongest force for involvement in organized family day care comes from charitable organizations and self-support groups.

Figure 2.6 Community Involvement

Portugal	■	majority of schemes are operated by private non-profit organizations which do not have to comply with government regulations for government schemes
West Germany	■	some government experimental schemes, but majority are church-run
Netherlands	■	Gastouderprojekts - voluntary self-support groups of mothers giving care and mothers needing care
Switzerland	■	Day Mothers Organization - self-support groups providing schemes
United Kingdom	■	some schemes are run by non-profit organizations National Childminding Association provides advocacy, information and referral, training and support
South Africa	■	all schemes are operated by non-profit organizations

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D. Parental Involvement

In Portugal, and Germany, where charitable organizations are involved in providing care, parents using family day care are largely seen as needy welfare recipients.

In Netherlands and Switzerland, where parents are part of self-support groups, the emphasis is on women taking care of women.

In the United Kingdom both of the above positions are apparent, depending upon whether or not the care is publicly funded.

E. Funding

Government funding for family day care is related to welfare need which is requested by the individual to the local authority, and by the local authority to the central government. Otherwise, parents are responsible for paying the total fees. The charitable organizations and self-support groups help parents by fund-raising from the community.

F. Effectiveness of Service Model

From the government's point of view, the goal of day care is to provide care for needy families. There is also an effort to encourage women to care for children at home. In fact, these countries report a lower labour force participation rate of mothers of young children in these countries.

Currently, however, there is an increase in the labour force participation rate of mothers with young children, and a lobby of day care advocates to move day care out of a welfare orientation and to address the unmet need for care. There is also concern that in times of economic constraint, there will be decreasing money available to meet the day care needs of parents who are eligible for welfare.

2.2 Federal Government Countries

Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States have federal governments which constitutionally grant significant powers in relation to social services to the state/provincial/territorial level of government. While they tend to take a position on the libertarian/free enterprise/interdependence side, they do so in significantly different ways from the above countries. The major differences are due to the large size and diversity of these countries, as well as to the federal structure.

These countries are made up of people who have immigrated from countries with widely different political, social and economic beliefs. Discussion about day care policy within these countries looks like the United Nations coming to agreement about a common day care policy.

Regional differences are as great within these countries as are the differences between countries in Europe. It is interesting that when the European Economic Community countries were asked if they thought there should be day care standards established for all the European Economic Community countries, their responses were similar to those in countries with federal governments - a

concern that regional differences in values and resources were too great to make standards feasible (CEC, 1983).

The role of the federal government in these countries tends to be viewed as firstly, to provide funds to regional governments to give to families who need child day care and cannot afford it, and secondly, to develop knowledge about day care and coordinate regional policies. In the states/provinces/territories there is considerable variation of policy positions. However, the state/provincial/territorial programs are contingent upon federal funding and the framework for that funding is a welfare (day care as patchwork) orientation. As Andrew Jones (1984) states in his comparison of Canadian and Australian child day care policy,

> In both countries, the central government does not have constitutional jurisdiction over social welfare provision, but for a combination of political and financial reasons has come to be deeply involved in the social welfare field....The states and provinces have become reliant on federal funds to discharge many of their social welfare responsibilities. The national governments in both countries thus have opportunities to influence social policies of the states/provinces through financial controls. However, a national government wishing to respond to a major social problem will, in both countries, be limited to actions that are compatible with the federal division of powers and the politics of federalism. In both Australia and Canada there have been strong demands that the federal government use its financial resources to subsidise the provision of day care, an issue (it is argued) that has national impact and requires a national response. The politics of day care and the politics of federalism are closely intertwined in both countries (Jones, 1984, p. 5).

Within the states/provinces/territories, there are policy positions which reflect both a day care as patchwork and a day care as realization position. There is a tendency in these countries to see family day care as a best mother substitute especially for infants and children with special needs when the day care is subsidized and as a natural neighborhood network in unregulated care. The majority of day care in these countries is provided in unregulated family day care. However, there are also advocates for family day care as a viable profession for providers and choice for parents, as cost-effective day care, and as a high-priced therapeutic service.

A. Status of Providers

The majority of care (80 - 90%) is being provided by unregulated providers.

There are regulated independent providers in all of the countries except New Zealand. There are also providers in each country who are in organized agencies or schemes. A few of the providers in the schemes are classified as employees

in the United States. Otherwise, they are self-employed with contracts with the agencies or schemes.

B. Government Involvement

In Australia, Canada and the United States, the role of the federal government in family day care is seen as funding day care as a welfare service. In each of these countries there has been pressure from advocacy groups for the federal government to be involved in the development of standards and/or guidelines and to provide funding beyond a welfare orientation. The response of the federal governments in each case has been to move further away from federal involvement in standards. Canada in its recent new strategy (December, 1987) clearly does not intend to provide standards, the United States in its Model Child Care Standards, and Australia, have resisted the pressure to develop standards and have reiterated the responsibility of the states/provinces/territories in this regard.

In New Zealand, the federal government has moved child care into the Ministry of Education, which reflects a different view of day care as an educational service, with the possibility of more federal government involvement in regulations and less welfare orientation.

In Canada, the provincial and territorial governments have the primary responsibility for legislation, policy and delivery of child day care services. All ten provinces and the two territories have legislation, licensing standards and enforcement systems. In all provinces and territories except two, the legislation includes regulations related to family day care. In order for federal/provincial shared subsidies to be used in family day care, the care usually has to be provided in a regulated setting. Three of the provinces license family day care agencies, the remainder license individual family day care homes. The municipal government is involved in shared funding and providing service in two of the provinces.

In the United States, the role of the federal government is seen as the protection of children and the development of new knowledge regarding children and day care in order to improve the quality of day care. The temper of the times seems to be anti-bureaucracy, anti-big-government and regulations. The states are responsible for licensing, staff development and leadership. Forty-four states have regulations for family day care homes, either by licensing or registration.

In Australia the federal government sees its role as primarily providing funding for child care as a welfare service. Priority is given to the children of single parents, aboriginal children, ethnic minorities, children at risk of emotional and physical abuse, disabled children, children with sick or incapacitated parents, children with both parents in the work place and isolated children. Some state governments have licensing regulations and others do not.

C. Community Organizations

In all of these countries a major source of funding and program development for family day care providers and schemes comes from voluntary organizations, charitable organizations, self-support groups, non-profit community organizations and, to a lesser degree, in Canada and the United States from private commercial organizations. These groups are involved in research, training, advocacy, support, service delivery.

D. Parent Involvement

In these countries, there are four ways that parents are viewed, as consumers and as welfare recipients, as well as advocates and decision-makers.

In Canada and the United States, the stress on unregulated care as a "cottage industry" gives a framework for seeing the parent as a consumer of that industry. As such, there is a movement for education of parents to be better consumers, in order to make sure they make a good choice, and on educating providers to be good business entrepreneurs, selling their quality service. This stress is reflected in the information and referral services and in the parent preference studies to discover the consumer's preferences.

In the agencies and schemes serving largely parents who receive subsidized care, the tendency is to see the parents as welfare recipients, or as requiring primary prevention.

There would appear to be a significant difference in "public will" between Canada and the United States with regard to the wish for regulations in family day care, with parents in the United States not wanting regulations and those in Canada feeling more positively about them.

E. Funding

The funding for all unregulated care comes from parents, with some income tax rebates and deductions for care.

In Canada and the United States regulated family day care is largely subsidized, with cost-sharing between the federal government, state/province/territorial governments, municipal governments and community organizations. In the United

States the cost-sharing for day care between federal government and state governments (and/or municipal, community organization) is 75/25, in Canada, it is 50/50. The move in both of these countries is to block grants where the state/provincial/territorial government can decide how they will use the funding.

In Australia and New Zealand, the federal government provides funds directly to the schemes, both as operating grants and child subsidies.

F. Effectiveness of Service Model

Concerns regarding family day care reflect the diversity of beliefs in these countries.

There are advocacy movements in all these countries for federal involvement in standards and a move away from a welfare orientation. This lobby expresses concern about both the quality of care in the unregulated sector and the lack of availability of care generally. The labour participation rate of mothers with young children is rapidly increasing.

There are also concerns expressed about the employment status, poor wages and working conditions of providers both in the regulated and unregulated sectors.

3. Egalitarian/socialism/interdependence

In Socialist countries, e.g. Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, U.S.S.R., and China, all child care is provided in centres and is free to parents. Family day care is seen as maintaining the traditional family structure and as exploitative of women. The purpose of child care is to fill labour market needs, provide equal participation in the labour force for women and men and to provide equal socialization opportunities for children.

4. Developing Countries

In Malaysia and India, there has been a recent acknowledgement of the need for formalized day care, as a result of urbanization and the breakdown of extended families to provide care. In both of these countries, family day care is being pursued as a solution to day care needs which can expand rapidly and can be in keeping with the family values of the country. Malaysia has developed regulated family day care as its total system of formal child care. An innovative program of training and the development of standards makes this an interesting model for other developing countries.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH ON VALUE OF FAMILY DAY CARE

The research on family day care has primarily focussed on a comparison between family day care and centre-based care in meeting the needs of children and families.

A. Effects on Children's Development

In the late 1970's and early 1980's researchers who were exploring the effects of centre-based child day care on the development of young children began to also look at the effects of family day care and to compare it to centre-based care. However, the research is limited in scope and has many methodological problems. The major problem is an inappropriate generalization on the basis of very small numbers of family day care homes with little detailed description of national and regional differences in qualifications; regulatory status or socioeconomic status of providers. However, what research there is gives some data to lend support or not to some commonly held assumptions (stated as hypotheses).

Hypothesis No. 1. Children in family day care receive more individual attention from adults than children in centre-based care.

In general, the findings support the hypothesis (Bingham, 1978; Cochran, 1977; Golden et al, 1978; Tyler and Dittman, 1980). However, there are indications that the amount of individual attention children receive in family day care homes is positively affected by the training, regulatory status and sense of professional status of caregivers, and the extent to which providers are organized in a support system, either a self-help support group or an agency (Carew, 1979; Fosburg et al, 1980; Tyler and Dittman, 1980; Wandersman, 1981).

Hypothesis No. 2. Since infants, toddlers and children with special needs require more individual attention by a parent or someone as similar to a parent as possible, in order to develop optimally in social/emotional and language areas, therefore these children will develop (in social/emotional and language areas) best in care at home with parents, next best in family day care and least in centre-based care.

On the basis of attachment theory and research or early stimulation, Burton White (1981) makes a number of recommendations to American parents regarding the use of substiture care. He recommends the following types of care in order of descending preference:

- individual care in the child's own home with a warm, intelligent and experienced person
- individual care in someone else's home with a warm, intelligent and experienced person

- family day care with no more than 3 children
- non-profit centre-based care carefully selected on the basis of ratios and training
- profit-oriented centre-based care very carefully selected.

The majority of the studies in United States, Sweden and Canada of social, emotional and language development in infants and toddlers in family day care, centre care and home care, showed no differences in attachment to parents, language competence, emotional functioning and social competence related to care setting (Baharal, 1977; Cochran & Gunnarsson, 1985; Doyle & Somers, 1978; Golden et al, 1978; Portnoy & Simmons, 1978; Raven & Robb, 1980; Tyler and Dittman, 1980). The recent study from the United Kingdom (Melhuish et al, 1986) gives some support to White's recommendations.

The studies on children with special needs (Jones & Meisels, 1987; Fink, 1985) give some indication of the value of training providers to work with special needs children, but give no comparative data with centre care.

Hypothesis No. 3. Cognitive development is enhanced by trained early childhood educators, and therefore children in centre care will perform better on cognitive measures than children in family day care with untrained providers.

In general, there would not appear to be long term effects which support the hypothesis of centre care being preferable to family day care for cognitive development (Cochran & Gunnarsson, 1985; Goodman & Andrews, 1979; Schwarz, 1983). The New York Study (Golden et al, 1978) does suggest that centre care is better able to offset cognitive delays in low-income families. However, the German study suggests that this is also possible with training of family day care providers (Kischke, 1980). The findings do support the hypothesis that training of providers is positively related to cognitive development of children in care.

Hypothesis No. 4. Family day care exposes children to fewer illness than group care, resulting in improved health.

On the basis of the few studies (Doyle, 1976; Golden et al, 1978; Strangert, 1976) no conclusions can be drawn related to this hypothesis. Further research needs to be done which explores what variables effect sickness in children in centre and family day care.

B. Effects on Families

Hypothesis No. 1. Family day care is able to be more flexible than centre-based care for school-aged children, children who live in rural areas, as well as for children whose parents work part-time, shift work or on a seasonal basis.

There is little evidence in the research literature that family day care is responding to the needs for flexible care any more than centre-based care is (Abramovitch, 1987; Moss, 1987; Rochon, 1987). Peter Moss (1987) in his study of child care in European Economic Community countries, gives many examples of day care centres in Europe developing programs for part-time and irregular hours. He states that "it is often claimed that a particular advantage of 'other family care' (family day care) is that it can be more flexible in the hours of care provided. While this may be so, there is no evidence about hours of care provided by this type of publicly funded service or the hours that children actually attend."

Hypothesis No. 2. Family day care is better able than centre-based care to provide a natural support for parents/families.

In an article by the Gingerbread Association, an organization for single parents in the United Kingdom (1976) the authors state that "for one-parent families, good childminders can provide an ideal form of child care - local, personal, homely, flexible, and even, in some exceptional cases, continuous (i.e. children when first placed when under 5 may continue to be cared for after school and in holidays when they have reached school age)" (Gingerbread, 1976).

Robertson (1984) in Australia also suggests that one of the positive values of family day care agencies is that they provide "community building and strengthening of neighborhood support systems of parents."

There is little research, however, to systematically support the advantages of family day care over centre-based care to provide this support system. (Hughes, 1986; Pence & Goelman, 1985; Steinberg & Green, 1978).

The tentative findings suggest that friendship relationships might characterize the interactions between parents and unregulated caregivers, while regulated care, especially in centres, provides a more professional relationship, which might give a parent a greater sense of confidence in the nature of care being given.

Hypothesis No. 3. Family day care is more culturally sensitive than centre-based care.

Again, while there is a lot of conjecture in the literature that family day care is likely to be more culturally sensitive, there is little research to indicate whether or not this is true (Abramovitch, 1987; Downie, 1986; Great Britain, 1985; Petrie, 1984; Rose, 1976; Tate, 1985).

Considerably more research, community consultation, and policy formulation is needed to become clear about the relationship between ethnicity, minority group status and family day care.

Hypothesis No. 4. The cost of family day care is less than centre-based care.

The data regarding comparative costs of family day care and centre care is not at all clear (Cooke et al, 1986; Moss, 1987).

Further studies on comparative costs between family day care and centre care with adequate training and supports for both would be useful.

Summary

It is obvious from the above, that research on family day care is at its beginning stages. The ecological studies of Pence and Goelman, the program evaluations being carried out by the National Children's Bureau in the United Kingdom on the effects of training and supports on provider care (E. Ferri, Sr. Research Officer, personal communication, 1987), and descriptive international comparisons such as the study of child care in the European Economic Community countries (Moss, 1987) all hold considerable promise. The questions of whether centre care or family day care is better for children is probably no longer a very useful research question. The question of how to enable each form of care to meet the needs of children and families is considerable more productive and more useful to policy-makers.

CHAPTER 4

REGULATIONS

While there has generally been an acceptance of the need for regulation of child day care which is centre-based, there is considerable controversy in the literature about the value of regulation for family day care. The following discussion will state some general purposes for regulation in social and educational services, then will review the family day care literature regarding the validity of those purposes for family day care.

1. **There is a need for protection of users/consumers from poor quality service:**

   - when the users are vulnerable because they are not in a good position to make a choice, either because of time or because expert knowledge is needed.
   - when the supply is less than the demand, if left to a free parket process
   - when the effect of poor quality service is detrimental to the basic rights of the users

   There is general agreement on the first two points, i.e. 1) that in countries which depend upon a large supply of unregulated family day care there is likely to be a decreasing supply of providers and increasing demand for care, and 2) that poor quality care is detrimental to the development of children. On the other hand, there are conflicting views regarding whether or not families need protection to handle these problems. The difference is primarily an ideological one between those countries which believe in shared public responsibility for care of young children and those which are committed to parental responsibility with little government intervention. There is an unresolved issue which is developing for those countries which are committed to primary parental responsibility without government intervention. That is the problem of how families will find solutions on their own to child care needs when there is a diminishing supply of providers.

2. **Regulation is needed to equalize distribution of a service for accessibility.**

   Inequality of access to the service would affect equality of opportunity in the society in general. If a country is committed to equality of opportunity for all its citizens, it has to take seriously the necessary conditions for that equality. Universal literacy and compulsory schooling are generally accepted

as essential societal conditions for equal opportunity. As the literature all over the world accumulates (Head Start studies in U.S., Plowden Report in U.K., Kathari Report in India) regarding the importance of the early years to prepare children for school success, countries are required to take seriously the effect of poor quality care or inconsistent care during these years. Unregulated family day care, as a neighborhood phenomenon, reflects the conditions of life in the neighborhood in which a child lives. The socioeconomic status of parents is likely to affect the quality of care which they are able to purchase. In an unregulated provision, higher income parents can pay for quality care and may have more resources for finding providers. The reverse is likely to be true for lower income parents. The negative effects of poor quality care on low-income children has been well documented in studies in the United Kingdom by Jackson and Jackson (1979) and Petrie (1984). Van derEyken (1987) has also shown the negative effects on children from low-income families of difficulties in finding child care. Lastly, the research (Golden et al, 1978; Goodman & Andrews, 1979; Kischke, 1980) supports the position that training and regulation of family day care providers can offset the effects of poverty on children in low-income families.

3. **Regulation is needed to ensure responsible use of public money being spent on the service.**

When governments fund child day care, it is generally accepted that regulations are required to ensure the following:

- control of the service being paid for
- accountability for use of the taxpayer's money
- in order to get the best standards for the money spent.

The relationship between government funding for family day care and government regulations varies in at least three ways. In Sweden, Denmark, Finland, France and Belgium where the government funds the provision of family day care directly through provider salaries and supports for all families who need it, regulations are applied to all family day care. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States, West Germany, regulations are frequently applied when the care provided is subsidized and functions with a welfare orientation. On the other hand, in Canada and the United States, the policy of family responsibility for child care is demonstrated in directly funding to parents, for example, in child care exemptions, deductions and tax credits, vouchers, and family allowances. There are no regulations related to the care which parents purchase with these funding measures.

4. **By regulating a service, the provider of that service acquires a professional status in the view of the community, both by nature of the association of regulations with quality and with an essential service.**

The debate on this issue evolves around whether family day care providers are best characterized as professionals, with standardized competencies and training, or as extended family members who are sharing the care of another mother's child because there is a neighborhood or kinship bond between them.
The supporters of professional status use the following arguments:

- Research has supported the positive effect of training of caregivers on children's development (Fosburg, 1981; Goodman & Andrews, 1979; Kyle & Lero, 1986).

- Providers are providing an essential service to the community which is equal in value with services provided by other professionals and should be recognized as such. To neglect to do so is to continue exploiting women who work in their homes (Whitebook, 1985).

Those who object to professional status take the following positions:

- There is an overprofessionalization of what should be a human, natural relationship (Sale, 1980).

- The qualities that parents want in providers cannot be regulated, trained or standardized - warm, loving homes.

- There is concern expressed by members of ethnic minority groups (especially the Black community in the United States) that professional status for family day care providers serving ethnic minority groups is apt to extend the gap downwards between professionals caring for children and families being served (Tate, 1985).

5. **Regulations improve the access to a service by making the providers more visible, i.e., by publicly naming the profession.**

There is general agreement in the literature that the networks connecting parents needing care with providers in the informal unregulated service are not functioning effectively either in rural areas (Abramovitch, 1987) or in large urban centres (Powell & Eisenstadt, 1982). There are differences of opinion regarding whether regulations or unregulated support services are the best method of building in the networks for accessing services. All of the countries which have regulations for family day care provide matching or referral services between parents and regulated providers. On the other hand, in Ontario and in many states in the United States, child care information and referral services have developed which use grass roots community organizations to supplement natural neighborhood networks of

accessing care. In the United States (Levine, 1982) these services often began as a resource which included unregulated providers, but many have changed to serving only regulated providers. The reasons are, 1) federal and state funding for these programs is contingent upon serving regulated providers, and 2) concern about liability for referrals to unregulated providers which could result in inadequate care and a lawsuit. In Ontario (Dohery Social Planning Consultants Ltd., 1987) some child care support services have been funded by a government initiative to develop informal, unregulated information and referral services, as well as supports to unregulated providers. A recent survey of these services also indicates concern about liability as well as difficulties in attracting unregulated providers. On the other hand, there has been an increase in the visibility of unregulated family day care providers as a result of these services and a developing sense of being members of a professional community.

6. **Regulations can improve the quality of a service by requiring a minimum level of quality.**

The statement of minimum levels can give providers of the service a baseline from which to work toward higher quality provision as an organized professional group. There appears to be a correlation between the regulation of family day care and the development of organizations of providers concerned about standards and quality in family day care. In some countries (Netherlands, Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia) the organizations have come first, then the lobby for regulations for standardized quality. In other countries (U.K., Sweden, Finland, Denmark, France, Belgium) the regulations have come first, then the organizations and the lobby for steady improvement of the regulations and quality.
In both cases, the regulations have had a positive effect in improving quality, e.g. conditions of pay, support services, child/adult ratios.

7. **If a service is most effective when it is linked with other community services which are regulated, that linkage can be more effective if the service is regulated.**

One of the frequent concerns about family day care in many countries relates to the low status of providers vis a vis other professionals, and their isolation from other professionals, including centre care workers. In Prince Edward Island (Rochon, personal correspondence, 1987) recent regulations requiring family day care providers to have training in child development, and linkages of the providers with day care centres, have resulted in the inclusion of family day care providers in the local association of early childhood education. In Sweden, regulations require equality and interchangeability between centre caregivers and family day care providers, which gives status to the caregivers and an alternative career path.

In summary, the controversy about regulating family day care is embedded in basic beliefs about shared public or sole parental responsibility for child care. The strongest points of the controversy are 1) whether parents or the government/experts are the best judges of quality care, and 2) whether family day care providers are best viewed as professionals or as extended family members. There is more agreement on the need for regulations to ensure responsible public spending, to improve access, especially for lower-income families, and to improve quality.

The following section will explore the advantages and disadvantages of different methods used to regulate family day care.

Regulatory Methods

1. Licensing.

The most common form of regulation used in family day care is based on the model of centre care licensing. A minimum standard of care is established by a regulatory agency and a potential provider must prove competence in relation to the standard of care before being permitted to provide care. In a service which has been firmly entrenched as a private informal arrangement, licensing represents a radical change in ways of thinking about the service. To require a licence is to state that no one can provide that care unless they prove their competence in relation to formally agreed upon standards. The standards usually include health and safety but they vary considerably as to whether they include numbers/ages of children, caregiver training or qualifications, and programming.

The countries which require licensing for all family day care providers (Sweden, Denmark, Finland, France and Belgium) and have a high degree of compliance with the legislation are those which are committed to a position of shared public responsibility for the care of young children and/or equal participation of women in the labour force. The compliance rates in these countries is estimated to be somewhere between 50% (France) to close to 100% (Sweden). In the literature on these countries, there is no question of the merits of licensing. The major concerns appear to be to want to increase the standards, to "put more teeth into the licensing", to improve the efficiency of the licensing, or to increase the incentives for being licensed.

West Germany and many states in the United States also require licensing for all providers, but there is a different perception in these countries regarding compliance. In West Germany there is a commitment to sole parental responsibility for child care. There is an estimated one-third compliance with the regulations and little public will to enforce compliance, unless the care is provided by a research project or is subsidized. In the United States, in states

which require licensing, the compliance rates are estimated to be between 5 and 10% and there is heated debate (to be discussed later) regarding whether licensing reflects the public will regarding shared public responsibility for family day care.

In the United Kingdom, licensing is required of all providers, in spite of the fact that the government believes in sole parental responsibility. However, the regulations were enacted during a previous historical period when the government policy included a stronger commitment to shared public responsibility. The National ChildMinding Association, a provider organization, has maintained a strong lobby, supported by parents, to continue licensing (called registration in the United Kingdom) and to increase its effectiveness through incentives and supports, as well as sanctions for non-compliance (NCMA, 1986). The current estimates of compliance rates are between 50 and 75%.

In countries which do not require licensing for all providers, there tends to be a commitment to family responsibility for child care and little government intervention. In some of these countries, licensing is primarily required where there is subsidized care (some states of the United States, Canada, Australia). In others, there is a great deal of variation in states/provinces/local authorities in the licensing practices. In the literature in these countries, there is considerable debate raging regarding the relative merits of licensing and deregulation.

1.1 **Arguments Against Licensing.**

The arguments against licensing are primarily expressed in the United States literature. There are two major types of arguments, those based on the principles of licensing and those based on the efficiency of the procedures. That is, some are against licensing because they don't believe in it, and others are against licensing because they perceive it as not working.

Principles. Wattenberg (1980) states that "licensing is inappropriate for a child care arrangement that is characterized by thousands of independent, home-based isolated entrepreneurs." She goes on to argue that standards, upon which licensing is based cannot be set because there are different expectations in different segments of the child care market and there is a lack of precise data on measurable indicators of quality.

Kendall and Walker (1986) state that federal standards would inhibit state and local communities from setting high standards, and that licensing professionalises child-rearing and undermines parents.

Class and Orton (1980) argue that the concept of licensing came from legislation on twenty-four hour foster care, but that the situation is different in that in family day care parents are in daily contact with children and with providers. They are therefore able to monitor the care effectively.

Morgan (1980) also claims that licensing is an inappropriate government intervention in a private family arrangement, which undermines the responsibilities and rights of parents. She also feels that licensing undermines the goals of family day care as being genuine family life rather than institutional care.

Lehrman and Pace, (1985), state that:

> if the supply of day care is ever to keep pace with the rapidly rising demand, it is essential that there be a favorable climate for its growth. At present there is not, and the regulatory obstacle course laid out by state and local officials is in large part why. State barriers to the provision of day care involve licensing and registration and staff/child ratios, whereas local barriers to the expansion of family day care concern zoning regulations and building, fire, and health regulations. Local barriers to the expansion of day care centers also exist. Regulations to prevent child abuse in day care settings may deter dedicated and caring individuals from entering the day care market. The deregulation of child care can begin with registration and parental supervision, the dismantling of local regulatory barriers, and the implementation of private sector alternatives to state oversight. Without the false sense of security provided by government standards, parents would take more responsibility for the well-being of their children. Moreover, through unregulated competition, day care facilities and services can supply parents with something even more fundamental - freedom of choice.

Efficiency. The list of problems with licensing described in the United States is lengthy.

Wattenburg (1980) and Kendall & Walker (1986) state that it is costly and labour intensive to carry out licensing procedures.

Class and Orton (1980) state the following problems:

- it is difficult, if not impossible to carry it out. Only 5 to 10% of family day care homes are licensed in states where it is required by law
- the total cost is staggering, especially if there is no exemption for a given number of children
- there is a lack of public visibility of family day care
- family day care is a transitory service
- there is no public support for government intervention, as parents are assumed to be competent to evaluate effectiveness.

Norlander (1986) gives the following reasons for lack of effectiveness of licensing in New York State:

- there is widespread ignorance regarding family day care regulations
- there is no formal incentive to being licensed and many providers can wait months to be processed
- there are considerable legal barriers to licensing - a fragmented licensing system, multiple agency regulations, local zoning ordinances, and lack of meaningful penalties.

Morgan (1980) states the following problems:

- there is a lack of public knowledge
- licensing is too complicated for providers and is perceived as intrusive and expensive
- there is often a fear of reporting income to the Internal Revenue Service
- if licensing is carried out through the welfare department, it is stigmatizing.
- there is insufficient staff and a lack of public demand for the safeguards
- licensing of only subsidized homes has created a two-tiered system, regulated care for low-income families, and unregulated care for middle income families
- licensing is not a guarantee of protection with so few visits, and therefore provides parents with a false sense of security
- parents do not want protection
- zoning, health and safety regulations have procedures which are more geared to institutional care.

1.2 Arguments for Licensing.

The arguments for licensing arise primarily from social, political and economic beliefs in shared public responsibility for child care.

- If the government shares with the parents the responsibility for quality care of young children and is committed to women's rights in the labour force, licensing is the most effective way of ensuring protection of consumers, equality of distribution, responsible use of public money, professional status of providers, improved access, improved quality and comparable status with other child day care professionals. All compromises would decrease the moral responsibility of the government.

- From this position, all practical problems with licensing are seen as obstacles to be overcome, rather than arguments against the principles of licensing.

- Non-compliance is viewed as a challenge to the government to increase incentives for being licensed, not as a signal for increasing sanctions for non-compliance. An example of this view is stated by Evans and Evans (1985) in France when they are discussing how to encourage all providers to be licensed. "One of the goals is that the greatest number of assistantes maternelles (any family day care providers) should work under conditions approved by the local authority. To attain this goal it is necessary that the conditions of service be attractive - including improvement of contracts, financial security, social conditions, access to services, and improved career structures." In the United Kingdom, when there were concerns about the quality of care among illegal childminders, the National ChildMinding Association's efforts to improve the status of childminders and the conditions under which they worked, resulted in increased numbers of licensed providers (NCMA, 1987).

- Licensing is seen as a benefit to parents (giving them more access to quality care) to providers (giving them economic and professional supports), and to the government (enabling them to know whether they are fulfilling their commitment to meeting the child care needs of their jurisdiction).

- Proponents for licensing argue that there are accepted standards for quality family day care based on research, including numbers of children, pre- and inservice training, and amount of support from an agency or government (Lero & Kyle, 1985; Stuart, 1983).

1.3 Individual or Agency?

There is no evaluative literature on the relative merits of regulating individual homes as opposed to agencies. With a broad international perspective, hypotheses about the advantages of each are suggested. Future research and policy formulation would be helpful to explore these hypotheses.

The advantages of agency licensing are indicated in the Ontario, Australian and American literature. They include:

- a financial partnership with community organizations which include fundraising and volunteer support
- professional resources for training and supporting untrained caregivers
- responsiveness to local communities, with creative new initiatives arising from the communities
- decentralization of government.

The advantages of licensing individual homes are suggested by the experience in Manitoba, and many European countries. They include:

- providers achieve professional status more easily as they organize to improve their economic conditions and to meet their educational and training needs. (The countries or states/provinces which license agencies tend to have professional organizations of workers in agencies rather than providers, while the countries which license individual homes have provider associations.)
- the provider associations tend to develop resources, together with the government support services, which are similar to the resources provided by the agencies (for example, the activities of the National ChildMinding Association in the United Kingdom, and the Swedish family day care providers' association).
- The providers sometimes perceive the agencies as inefficient and paternalistic "middlemen" with higher professional status, which disempowers the providers.

Information is needed on the relative costs of each form of licensing, if the quality of supports for caregivers and the quality of care are equal.

2. Registration

Registration, as defined by Morgan (1980) and Sale (1980) is a method of regulation which has developed primarily in the United States and is being used in some provinces in Canada. The registration procedures have been developed as a means of dealing with the problems of licensing, both in principle and practice.

It is basically a self-monitoring procedure without a pre-service investigation as in licensing. The underlying assumption is that a provider is capable of providing a satisfactory service if they are aware of the standards and expectations. Only in the case of proven incompetence would they be prevented from providing the service.

Although there are variations in the registration procedures used in the United States and in New Brunswick and British Columbia in Canada, there are some standard features as described by Morgan (1980):

- listing of names with a central agency
- provision of information to caregivers regarding standards and a self-evaluation form
- provision of information to parents/consumers
- spot check monitoring for compliance with standards
- response to non-compliance complaints.

Support for the value of registration has been stated in the study carried out in Texas when they changed from licensing to registration (Nowak, 1979). They found that registration together with an information and referral service, food and nutrition information and training, had the following benefits:

- it is more in keeping with the public will
- it is less expensive
- it increased the number of regulated providers
- it increased access by parents.

Sale (1980), a strong proponent for registration, suggests that the three indicators of quality in family day care which can be effected by a registration system system are:

- informed parental consent

- physical and emotional support of day care providers
- respect for families' lifestyles and culture in children's programming.

Massachusetts also changed to registration and is currently returning to a licensing procedure. According to McDonald at the International Family Child Care Conference (1987) they have become concerned about the quality of the care they are registering and would like to have more ability to restrict poor quality care.

3. Credentialing by a professional body.

In this case, a professional organization or post-secondary institution develops a set of standards for quality care and gives a certificate to anyone proving competence to provide that standard of care. This process obviously can be used in combination with government licensing or registration. The advantages of using this system alone is that it educates parents regarding high standards of care and leaves the choice to parents. The disadvantage is the inability to protect parents and children from poor quality care in a market where supply of the quality care is less than the demand.

E. Agency of Regulation

There are three levels of regulatory bodies - federal or central government, state, provincial or local government and professional organizations.

The countries which have central government regulations related to family day care are Sweden, Denmark (until recently), Finland, France, Belgium, Portugal, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The countries which leave regulations to states, provinces or local authorities are Australia, United States, Switzerland, Canada. The countries which have no government regulations in relation to family day care are Netherlands, South Africa and New Zealand (New Zealand is in the process of developing regulations).

Grotberg (1980) gives a good overview of the relative advantages of central government vs. local government regulations.

The advantages of central government regulations include:

- assurance of common standards across the country
- a model of standards
- less possibility of pressure groups attempting to minimize standards for business reasons

- a guarantee of equitable distribution of resources related to standards
- more resources to study the needs of child care and the impact of standards and regulations.

The advantages of local or state/province regulations include:

- central government expenditure on monitoring standards can be reduced
- state/provincial or local governments can determine their own policies concerning standards
- local standards can be used which are not linked to public funding and therefore cover a larger population
- local government can be more responsive to cultural and regional variations in families.

Moss (1987) suggests that in many of the countries which have central government regulation, there is a move toward decentralization. As the Fact Sheet on Sweden (1987) states it, "The central government has thus increasingly replaced detailed regulations with general supervision. In this way, the municipalities have acquired increasing responsibility for organizing and shaping the activities and environments of children, while the [central] government authorities indicate the objectives and directions of child care policy." This decentralization policy is economically expressed in the increasing use of block grants for all social services to local authorities, rather than specifically targeted funds. There is concern expressed in these countries that general economic constraints paired with decentralization will result in poorer child care services with considerable regional disparity. However, because these countries have had central government regulations, there are expectations on the part of parents and providers for a certain level of service, and structures in place to achieve this. This creates a very different picture from countries which have had no central government regulations and are following a policy of decentralization.

Most provider associations which are developing standards for family day care do so in conjunction with government regulations. However, Hochli (1987) from the Swiss Day Mothers' Organization makes an interesting case for the advantage of a family day care providers' professional organization being the regulatory body of the service. Her reason was that the government bureaucracy is a patriarchal organization and would operate this way in relation to family day care. The Day Mothers' Organization organizes itself on feminist, cooperative principles and would prefer not to have government intervention.

G. Summary

Throughout the discussion of regulations, it is clear that basic beliefs about responsibility for child care underlie the differences both between countries and between groups within countries. The "public will" in a country determines what kinds of regulatory procedures work and what do not. An understanding of the range of beliefs and practices operating in other countries is helpful in articulating the "public will" and developing regulatory policy which will be effective in a particular jurisdiction.

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